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Exclusive!

The real story on Eisler

By Richard A. Yaffe
GUARDIAN roving correspondent

ABOARD MS BATORY, COPENHAGEN

I HAVE been a fellow-traveler with Gerhart Eisler in this beautiful and friendly Polish ship. As we lay off Southampton I saw him carried struggling on to the tender from the boat-deck cabin where British, Polish and U.S. consular and embassy officials had conferred for seven hours with Captain Cwiklinski.

Two men held each of Eisler's wrists, two others his ankles. His back dragged on the deck at times. He was swung like a sack up and over the hump of the gangplank, down the way and on to the deck of the tender, which gave two quick toots and was off in a couple of seconds flat.

Eisler seems to have told the Polish authorities, who fought hard for him, that he understood the embarrassment in which they were placed. Their two best ships, the Batory and Sobieski, might as well be put in storage if the U.S. and England denied them port facilities. So he probably said he would leave the ship—but not under his own steam.

OKLAHOMA MOOD. No greater contrast could be imagined than between the battling Eisler I last saw and the Eisler of the pleasant days at sea. He was cool enough to air-condition the engine room.

I found him sitting alone on the sun deck, reading Roosevelt and Hopkins ("a fine book"), after he had paid his passage and been assigned a berth in the ship's hospital.

"How does that song go?" he said. "Oh, what a beautiful morning . . . now I know we are out of bounds of the American authorities! What a beautiful, beautiful feeling not to have to worry any more about FBI agents, American judges and American prisons!"

BOMBS AND TOOTHBRUSHES. I asked him if the lost bail didn't bother him. "If I had stayed on," he said, "many thousands of dollars would have been spent for more appeals, more lawyers—for really nothing, because a foreign Communist has hardly a chance before an American court.

"I hope a way will be found to get the bail money back. I will send it from Germany as soon as German money is again accepted in America. I took nothing with me from America but the clothes I am wearing and this wonderful toothbrush."

He fondled a collapsible little toothbrush that folded into a cover. "There is no doubt. Americans are clever people—the atom bomb and this."

More seriously he went on: "I can only say I have found out that if Americans are decent, they belong to the nicest people in the world. And many, many are decent."

THE GAUNTLET. His first few hours on the ship, he said, had been rather hellish. He paid his 25c to come aboard as a visitor, and then tried to make himself scarce. "After all," he said, "how many times can a man go into a men's room, and how many men's rooms can there be on one ship?"

Finally, he said, he had taken a deck chair and dozed off with cap pulled over his eyes; he was awakened only by the blare of the orchestra playing loud departure music as the gangplank was lifted.

The Batory's Captain Cwiklinski certainly was on the spot. He swore he knew nothing about Eisler's plans, had never even heard of the man until he gave himself up and offered to pay passage to Gdynia. I believe Cwiklinski. On such a cool evening as Thursday—the evening of the denouement—a man doesn't normally sweat as he did.

I don't know what went on in that boat-deck room during the seven-hour conference off Southampton. I got within ten feet of the open door at one point during the talks and managed to say in German: "What gives?" But before Eisler could say a word I found myself in the outer corridor, having been pushed there gently but firmly by the Agatha Christie characters.

NO COLLINS. During the talks some of the conferees stalked out, brief-cases and all, and took the tender into Southampton. A steward brought sandwiches, then a round of scotches—but no tom collins, Eisler's favorite drink.

When it was all over I found Eisler's message, written on two airmail envelopes which were on the floor near where he had been sitting. In it he described himself as the first prisoner of the "so-called" Atlantic Pact., praised the Polish government and the ship's crew, and said he was being "kidnapped by British gendarmes acting as agents for American reaction."

VALUABLE FLESH. My best guess as to what happened is that the U.S. representatives talked bluntly of serious international complications if Eisler were not turned over to them. That the Poles were not convinced at first, but that then came the real threat of refusing U.S. and British port facilities to the Gdynia-America Line.

There is a rumor in the ship, and I believe it is true, that the British threatened to send a warship from Portsmouth and intern the Batory until the 150 pounds of flesh were delivered.

MORE EISLER CASE NEWS ON PAGE 9

The hope of the world sits in with them

The Council of Foreign Ministers begins its meeting in Paris May 23 to seek a solution to the problem of Germany — and the cold war. These are the men who will represent their nations: Top left, Dean Acheson, U. S. Secretary of State; to his right Andrei Vishinsky, Soviet Foreign Minister; lower left, Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Secretary; to his right Robert Schuman, French Foreign Minister. (See Week's News Roundup, p. 5.)

INSIDE FRANCO SPAIN

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Guardian's army

ROCHESTER, N.Y.

Your announcement of a slash in the price of the paper makes some of us, who believe that the GUARDIAN is the most vital means of communicating the truth to the people, most joyful. You have put the paper within reach of many additional millions of Americans, all of whom are potential progressives, I am convinced, if given the facts and implications by which to judge.

Morton Shafer

Let 'em roll!

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I think your introductory offer is terrific. I've sent you 10 names and here are four more friends who would like to read the GUARDIAN. I hope to get you some more. **Irv Silver**

Everyone's invited

CHICAGO, ILL.

There are probably lots of organizations, like local branches of the Progressive Party, unions, student clubs, etc., who could supply long lists of people who have never read the GUARDIAN.

Naturally, progressive organizations never have any money, but there might be some people around who would be willing to sponsor some of these prospective readers, especially at your new low price of 25c a head. Two bits seems like a pretty small price for winning over another friend to the side of peace.

Why don't you invite progressive groups to send you lists of prospective readers, and invite progressive individuals with a spare buck to sponsor some of them? **Phil Weiss**

Tell 'em, friend!

BERKELEY, CAL.

The GUARDIAN is far superior to any other paper we ever see. As soon as finals are over, we'll go all-out to tell people about it. That's all that's needed to get subs. There's amazing ignorance about GUARDIAN's very existence among staunch progressives. **Carol Hade**

Issue on Israel

VAN NUYS, CAL.

Re your column **United Nations Special** (May 16), "Israel One Year After"—please make the following correction:

You state that the Pope of the Roman Catholic Church mobilized Christian opinion. This is not true. The Pope mobilizes Roman Catholic opinion, and at that not all Roman Catholics. It is quite true that some people who call themselves Christians are not—therefore the next statement is also false, "The Christian world chose to sit on the fence, etc."

Think of all the people who are Christians that opposed the stupid war—the Arab position, British policy and American calumny.

An apology from a paper as good as the GUARDIAN isn't necessary—but the truth is.

Thank you for wonderful news that is worthwhile reading. I look forward every week for the GUARDIAN.

Harold Bostwick

Youth and books

OAK PARK, ILL.

The GUARDIAN should have more space devoted to problems of youth, and a weekly analysis of all progressive books, both fiction and non fiction. **Eddie Jackson**

One hard fact

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

Drew Pearson recently made a suggestion that rates serious consideration. He proposed that the United States send 1,000 students to Russia and that we in return receive 1,000 students from the Soviet Union.

Facts, as Premier Stalin is reputed to have said, are stubborn things. And it is a fact that capitalist America and communist Russia exist in the same world and must get along together in this world.

Irving Perlman

The other side

BERKELEY, CAL.

May I say I read the GUARDIAN through from cover to cover, and it is the only paper I have ever felt worthy of so much time.

One suggestion: Although the emphasis of your paper is rightly placed on those facets of the news which are falsified in the commercial press, there are probably others who would like to rely on GUARDIAN for all their information, but feel, as I do, that very little information concerning the opposing arguments is ever printed, and it is necessary to know these arguments in order to refute them. **Thomas D. Sachs**

We often wish we were made of rubber.—Ed.

Saving for war

WILMINGTON, DEL.

It is quite apparent that 99 44/100% of our nation's editors are ignorant of the tremendous responsibility of their positions. The **Wilmington Suburban News** and most other publications advocate J.Q. Public buying U.S. "savings" bonds while they blatantly print

Armed Services Courting Favor of Congressmen

—for J.Q's money, of course! Governmental appropriations to date indicate **wartime** expenditures, as exhibited by **tremendous** military allotments, are taking priority over **peacetime** planning for housing, education, health, etc. In our opinion, these are not "savings" but **war** bonds. J.Q. Public is opening the way to higher taxes and the lid to his own coffin. **E.H.C.O.**

Infiltration

MIDLOTHIAN, TEX.

The GUARDIAN is becoming better and better and soon will be as good as the **Appeal to Reason** and the **American Guardian**, my oldtime favorites.

As to M. S. Atwood's idea about not attacking the Catholic Church when they are wrong: Ignorance is not sacred. Although I voted for Al Smith because of the Klan, I say the Catholic hierarchy is one of the greatest forces of evil in the world today. They now control most of the CIO and yet people cuss the Communists for infiltration.

Truman and McGrath dare do nothing to antagonize Cardinal Spellman. Israel had to make a deal with Spellman before we supported their admission to UN.

As a progressive democrat and socialist at different times, I have seen 40 years of catering to ignorance and superstition and you see what it has gotten us! One of the few reactionary governments left in the world.

J. Hayden Moore Sr.

In a jam?

COLD SPRING, N.Y.

Below is a letter I am sending to the **Voice of America:**

Mr. George V. Allen
Voice of America
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

As one who has broadcast for approximately three years for the **Voice of America,** I can suggest an immediate method of eliminating the alleged jamming of our programs. Merely broadcast more truth and less hypocrisy.

Yours truly,

Maury Tuckerman

Every Dugan has his day

ABOARD S.S. NIEUW AMSTERDAM, HOBOKEN, N. J.

Love to the GUARDIAN and its angels as I take wing for the Ould Sod. Will be dropping you a memo from east of Macgillicuddy's Reeks.

New York just had its "I Am An American Day", Holland (Mich.) its Tulip Festival, Prairie du Chien (Wis.) its Villa Louis Pageant celebrated by horses. Upcoming are the Annual Rain Day Parade at Waynesburg, Pa., and the Baby Parade at Asbury Park, N. J. All this is too exhausting for one who is neither a baby, a raindrop, a tulip, a prairie dog or a horse. It's true that I Am An American of a queer species, but any fool can see that without my going to Central Park Mall and yelling I Am One.

Mr. Hugh J. Flood has been reported favoring a Parade of the Human Race down Fifth Avenue. I feel this is too cumbersome and will lead to fights between two kinds of Irishmen. I am planning to plan for an I Am A Human Being Day on more restful lines. Everyone can stay home. Lucy Monroe and Kate Smith can have the day off. The official anthem of I Am A Human Being Day is **O Willie Brew'd A Peck O' Malt.** Simply stay to hell home and enjoy yourself. You, Too, Can Be A One Hundred Per Cent Human Being!

JAMES DUGAN

Jennings Perry

Buy now, pay later

IT is impossible to admire the manner in which the North Atlantic military alliance is being offered on our market—impossible, that is, for those of us who never have been able to regard high pressure salesmanship as the finest manifestation of American ingenuity.

The appeal is to all our weaknesses. The method combines the techniques of the book salesman, the insurance salesman and the automobile salesman as sometimes recorded in the comic strips, and as frequently glorified in such success fiction as the Earthworm Tractor series.

WE are told the Pact must be ratified because our young men working their way through the diplomatic service have put in so much time on it. This is the sympathy touch. Our vanity is stroked by the reminder that the neighbors expect it of us, and prodded with the suggestion that if we don't "go through with it" they may suspect us of B.O.

We are lugubriously informed that if we do not take out the Pact immediately the worst may befall us. (Witness Czechoslovakia, well one moment, dead the next!) The fact that we already have an identical policy with the United Nations has to be played down.

Nothing against the UN, of course. It has the right to do business if it can. But the new company features selective coverage. Real security there.

THE sleaziest approach of all was perfected by the bright boys of automobile row in the days when cars were hard to sell. It is the just-hop-in-and-drive-it-out device. The price? Oh, don't worry. Let's get you rolling. Come back next week or next month. The finance people will fix that up....

This is the Tom Connally finesse, now playing—and about the only way on earth a military compact projecting billions for arms shipments abroad could be snaked through the present U.S. Senate, in which the same proposition, honestly tied to a tax increase, inevitably would fail.

WE are a nation of joiners. That has not been overlooked. If we can be made to see this business as merely a sort of grandiose gesture, a thing that doesn't call for cash on the barrelhead, if it can be sold to us on a trial basis (bring it back if you don't like it, and cost you nothing), we may sign up.

That is why Senator Watkins, who persisted in asking how much and when, had to be squelched by Chairman Connally of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. That is why, later in the week, the serious question of whether the United States constitutionally may undertake to subsidize and arm foreign governments by the use of the Federal taxing power, had to be brushed off with a smile.

The question was posed by Fyke Farmer, an advocate of world federation under law. A lawyer, Farmer presented the most apposite and cogent brief yet brought against the proposed Pact on legal grounds, concluding with a plea to the Senate not to foreclose the right of the people to pass on the fateful issues developed in the debate on the emergent arms pact.

BUT this right of the American people to control their own destiny has been ignored throughout the song and dance of military and diplomatic "experts" that has led up to the decision to which the Senate is being pushed—a momentous decision which nevertheless must be taken in the **name** of the people.

They have been consulted on nothing, and the nice matter of cost has been hidden from them in vague estimates and lulling references to the bye-and-bye.

Essentially the issue is one of morals and intelligence; it would be less decent to decide it on other counts. And yet, if we cannot avoid another clash of force by reason, we ought to have a chance to cancel war because we can't afford it.

The chips are down in CIO

Get in line or get kicked out—That's the order from Murray

MAURICE TRAVIS
He was found guilty of being blinded

Special to the GUARDIAN
WASHINGTON

MEETING in National Executive Board session here last week, CIO President Philip Murray served formal and complete notice that deviation from national CIO policy by any CIO union or its leaders is now an indictable and punishable offense, to be dealt with at the October convention in Cleveland.

The notice, directed primarily at the so-called "left" elements in CIO, came in three major resolutions passed by an almost 4 to 1 majority in the three-day session.

Two of these dealt with what are called internal union affairs, the third with the issue of world labor cooperation. Each, however, goes far beyond the confines of CIO in its potential effect on the workers and the general public.

HE HIT HIMSELF. The first resolution dealt with the incident at Bessemer, Alabama, in which Secretary-Treasurer Maurice Travis of the CIO Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers was murderously beaten and blinded by one Nick Zonarich, an agent of Murray's Steel Workers Union. The occasion was an election between the two unions, which was won by the steel workers with the aid of race baiting, red baiting and outright terror.

The CIO board's resolution completely turns the facts of this situation upside-down. In it, Travis and Mine, Mill are the guilty ones, accused of using "the communist weapon of fear, intolerance, racial hatred, threats" against Murray and the CIO. Travis by implication, is accused of hitting himself. Of course the taking over of the workers involved by the steel union is approved.

FE—NO VOICE. The second resolution refers to the CIO Farm Equipment Union, which was ordered last fall to give up its contract and its identity by merger with the right-wing-led United Automobile Workers. FE refused to cut its own throat—or to give up the contracts won for its members—and made the refusal stick by unanimous support of its rank and file.

Now National CIO says that FE's charter will be jerked at the October convention. FE's members are to have no vote in their disposition.

"DISOBEDIENCE." The third and equally basic resolution approved CIO Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey's unilateral action in walking out of the World Federation of Trade Unions last January.

Here the warning to dissidents is equally clear, when the resolution says: "It shall be contrary to CIO policy for any affiliate, officer or Executive Board member of the CIO to have organizational relationship to the WFTU or any of its agencies."

Murray, in talking to the press, underlined this when he repeatedly used the word "disobedience" in referring to CIO unions which showed desire to keep WFTU connections. The two chief offenders in the obedience test are Donald Henderson, president of the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers, who attended last month's WFTU session in Paris; and Harry Bridges, whose West Coast Longshoremen's Union voted ten to one to stay in the world labor organization.

TRIPLE THREAT. The resolutions of the CIO Board do three things to American labor.

- They clearly state that raiding and disruption of established unions are now sanctified by the majority of CIO's Executive Board.
- They completely override the will of the members of unions whose leadership national CIO happens to dislike.
- They lay a "legal" base for destruction of unions that deviate in any way from national CIO policy.

This last is the glaring fact that comes out of the CIO Board meeting. From now on, leaders of the so-called left wing unions say, the obedience test and the loyalty order are to be substituted for the free association of labor that protects every union's and every worker's right to agree or disagree on policy. The penalties for disobedience are laid down: charges, suspension and expulsion for those declared guilty.

THE CORE. The key to the situation was stated by Murray in the meeting. It is foreign policy. Either you go along on the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact and the breakup of WFTU—or you get out.

The way the minority on the Executive Board sees it, the unions in disagreement with national CIO policy have until the October convention to strengthen their ranks against new attack. If they do their job of informing their members on the issues, if they keep their unity and their nerve, the showdown will not be the end.

Meantime, a new chapter has opened in CIO. It is a far cry from the fighting days when CIO stood together to build a new and militant labor organization among the mass production workers of America.

Paris report

THE first report of the members of the U.S. delegation to the Paris Peace Conference will be given at a "Report from Paris," May 23, at 8 p.m. at New York's City Center Casino, 135 W. 55th St.

The speakers will be Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Donald Henderson, Howard Fast, Rockwell Kent, Minneola Ingersoll, Albert E. Kahn and O. John Rogge.

Washington special

They're ganging up on your freedom

By John B. Stone
WASHINGTON

CONGRESSIONAL committee proceedings last week showed how U. S. foreign policy, with its backing of dictatorships, feudal absolutism and tottering right-wing parliaments by armed force, is eating into the rights of Americans at home.

In Room 424 of the Senate office building a judiciary subcommittee was blandly rushing through the dressed-up version of the Mundt-Nixon police state bill. All the veterans' organizations were for it and received polite hearings.

Clifford Durr, former member of the Federal Communications Commission, a backer of Henry Wallace and now president of the National Lawyers Guild, showed with painstaking skill that the bill would (1) make guilt by association a fact, (2) violate the rights of free speech and assembly, (3) institute thought control, and (4) in fact outlaw the Communist Party and probably the Progressive Party.

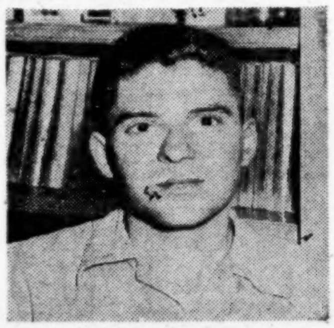
As Durr read his testimony Sens. O'Conor of Maryland and Miller of Idaho, the only committee members present, carried on a private conversation.

HAULED OUT. To the question asked all witnesses except members of Congress, "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" Arthur Schutzer, of the New York ALP, sought to reply that he was here to testify on a vital matter; asking that question constituted a political test of witnesses before they could testify.

After a shouted exchange horribly familiar to those who covered the Un-American Activities Committee last year, Schutzer was hauled out of the witness chair by husky Capitol cops.

Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, ousted from Temple Emanu-El in Yonkers, N. Y., after engaging in newspaper smear campaigns, gave away the motives behind the new Mundt and Ferguson bills when he launched attacks, not on Communists but on "fellow travelers," liberals and progressives.

HANDS OFF OUR ATOM. Over in the Capitol building the joint committee on Atomic Energy was listening to a little, heavily bespectacled lad with a boyish voice and frustratingly serene manner. He was Hans Freistadt, 22, post-graduate student in physics at the University of North Carolina, recipient of a $1,600 Atomic Energy Commission fellowship to enable him to get his doctor's degree, who calmly said he was both a good Communist and a good American citizen.



HANS FREISTADT
What's all the fuss?

Rep. Melvin Price (D-Ill.) tried to read sinister meanings into the fact that Freistadt's father had used the pen-name "Frei"; Hans explained that the linotype operator dropped the last half of the name.

Freistadt told Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R-Ia.) that if he had ever heard a fellow-Communist advocate use of violence to overthrow the Government he "would have preferred charges against him. It is against the constitution of the party."

When Price and Hickenlooper tried to draw him out about his parents' coming to America, Freistadt said: "They hadn't much to say. My father had been in a Nazi concentration camp. My mother was killed in a bombing."

CHEAPER IN JAIL. In a small committee room in the House office building, the judiciary committee of the lower house was pushing through Atty. Gen. Tom Clark's anti-subversion bill, which makes it a crime to know about foreign techniques of subversion unless you gained the knowledge "through academic interest."

Subcommittee chairman Joseph R. Bryson (D-S.C.), who said Gerhart Eisler had cost the government a lot of money, suggested it would be "more economical to pass this law which would let us round up all subversives. It would cost less to feed them in jail than to keep an FBI force big enough to keep them all under surveillance."

Another Senate judiciary subcommittee was building an iron curtain around the U. S. to keep out as many Eastern European diplomats as possible. It was using all the old traitors like Modelski of Poland to stir up the witch's brew.

In round after round of testimony the explanation was given: "We spend billions on ECA and military loans and grants to stop communism abroad. We've got to stop it here too."

Sitting in with the Big Four

Depression -- and Germany

By Tabitha Petran

WHEN the Big Four Foreign Ministers meet in Paris May 23, there will be two phantoms at the table: the shadow of world depression, and Germany which has almost overnight become a great power again.

Economic difficulties in the capitalist world are not on the Foreign Ministers' agenda. But they may prove a determining factor in the negotiations.

In the U.S., from November to April production fell at the rate of 16% a year. The drop is not localized but spreading to all sectors of the economy.

Employment, officially estimated at a little over three million, is unofficially reported nearer five. **U.S. News** this week said: "A rise in the number of unemployed is expected to gain momentum during second half of 1949."

TOUGH ALL OVER. With trouble developing in the U.S., economic difficulties are becoming more acute elsewhere.

Latin American and other semi-colonial countries like the Philippines are hard hit by the drop in the price of raw materials. British exports have taken a nosedive just when Britain faces revived German competition. In France and Belgium prices are dropping steadily, unemployment rising.

Even in Western Germany, Secretary Acheson's "workshop of Europe," unemployment has climbed over 1,000,000 while prices have sagged sharply.

RACE WITH REALITIES. Since the war's end powerful U.S. forces have fought to prevent agreement with the U.S.S.R. Policy of these cold war strategists has been to undermine Russian reconstruction and build up Western Germany as an anti-Soviet base and semi-colony of U.S. big business.

These forces are now racing against time to push through their whole program before economic realities catch up with them.

Their rigid policy has accentuated the very economic difficulties which may now upset their plans. As the UN Economic Commission pointed out last week, the splitting of Europe by the Marshall Plan has distorted the economies of both Western Europe and the U.S.

NEVILLE'S MYTH. The policy of the cold war diehards is at the same time threatening to unleash on the world a new Frankenstein monster, the West German state. Gen. Clay on his return to Washington this week urged that Western Germany be welcomed into the company of "the democratic nations."

West German political leaders are cocky. They believe the U.S. will be a willing instrument of their policy. And cold war leaders, like Neville Chamberlain before them, believe the Germans they are building into a striking force against Russia will do their bidding.

U.S. diehards want to extend the West German State to the Eastern frontier, without any concessions to Russia. The majority of West German political leaders share this view.

TROUBLES WE SEE. Can the cold war strategists once again block agreement with Russia? These factors will be important in determining the answer:

- Neither the U.S. nor the West Germans have a workable political program for unification of Germany. The Russians will not give up Central Germany without concessions from the West.
- The West German State is a completely artificial construction, economically and politically, and West German political leaders know it. Its constitution, written under U.S. dictation, is unworkably half federated and half centralized, as the result of the Social Democratic Party's threat to walk out if its demands for centralization were not met.
- There is no common policy among the three western powers. France is already pushed into a back seat by a recovering Germany.
- The Russian bargaining position is strong. Politically, its program for a united Germany, withdrawal of occupation troops and signing of a peace treaty has appeal for Germans and other Europeans. Economically, Russia recognizes the developing difficulties in the West and will inevitably emphasize the possibility of organic solutions: development of trade needed by both East and West.
- Some conservative business interests in the U.S., whose views are reflected in the **Wall St. Journal**, are taking the realistic view that some settlement must be reached so that East-West trade can be resumed.

ALL BUT THE LUNATICS. The present conference is not likely to provide a decisive solution. It will probably be a testing ground.

But all but the cold war diehards have much to gain from a fair compromise which will permit tackling the real problem: the developing world slump.

Max Werner

Bonn—or bust?

AT the Four Power meeting this week in Paris there is room for compromise on the basis of a neutralized Germany and West-East economic cooperation.

If a compromise is not achieved, the consequences will be harsh. A new upsurge in the armament race will ensue, and since even the United States has no calculated and balanced rearmament plan, and Western Europe is unable to rearm, this will be expensive but purposeless.

Failure in Paris will spoil the possibilities of East-West trade and thus strike at the very roots of the European Recovery Program.

If Paris fails, the resulting U.S.-Soviet tension will be indeed a poor wedding gift to the West German State. West Germany will wither in the frosty climate of a cold war. We cannot have an intensified rough-tough cold war and a prospering West Germany. We cannot at the same time help our former allies, finance our former enemies, carry out a super-rearmament, and have a balanced budget to boot.

WILL YOU BUY? If Paris fails somebody will have to underwrite the economic existence of the anemic West German State. The price will have to be paid by the United States, and the United States alone.

Are we ready to take West Germany on our permanent dole? The Republic of Bonn cannot be anybody's pillar. It cannot work as a trench or a springboard in any Western system. The alternative in Paris is therefore a Germany as a running sore—or a Germany as a going concern.

Wallace tour windup

100,000 heard them

By Elmer Bendiner

IN a bare backstage room at Madison Square Garden last Monday night, three men stood in a semi-circle of flashing photo bulbs. They were Henry Wallace, Michele Giua, Socialist member of the Italian Senate, and Lester Hutchinson, British Labor member of Parliament.

In 15 cities across the country they had stood that way. Everywhere reporters and photographers were on hand; yet newsclips of the trip were meager. This was the end of a tour in which the three, joined midway by Eslanda Robeson, wife of Paul Robeson, had gone from New York to California to barnstorm for peace. More than 100,000 people heard and saw them: the familiar Wallace, the little Italian with high forehead and jutting goatee, the tall, dapper, witty Englishman.

"NO EASY WAR." In return they had seen the U.S. and a great many Americans. Lester Hutchinson told GUARDIAN the tour had "completely altered my conception of America. The majority really want peace. The peace forces are not yet properly organized, but they're stronger than the forces for war."

He went on: "There'll be no easy war. It's quite absurd to believe that America alone has the atomic bomb. Russia certainly has it. Scientists all over Europe are convinced of it."

Of fascism he said: "You've gone further along the road than we have." Of trade unions: "Labor must be associated with the progressive political movement to defend its own economic standards. The great fight of labor is political. The only organization that expresses the fundamental interest of labor is the Progressive Party."

GUARDIAN asked for a comment on the case of Gerhart Eisler. Hutchinson said: "I am astonished that Britain interferes in the internal affairs of America."

If the visitors had learned a lot about America, was a European tour in the works? Mr. Hutchinson said plans were in the talking stage and added: "I think it would be very valuable if Henry Wallace came over to Europe."

ITALIAN RECIPE. Michele Giua, eight years a prisoner of Mussolini, a professor, a senator and a man the working class of Italy has taken as its own, puffed his pipe and talked to GUARDIAN through an interpreter. What had he learned? "The American government is one thing; the American people is another." He too saw the disunity within the U.S. and gave an Italian recipe: "Unite all the democratic forces as we in Italy did: the Action Party (Socialist Party of Sardinia), the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the General Confederation of Labor."

Of labor: "It is unfortunate that certain labor leaders do not fight, as European leaders have fought, on a basis which states unequivocally that there are classes and that their own class, the working class, must be defended."

NO PUNCHES PULLED. The interview over, we went out into the Garden where spotlights played on the flag-draped podium. The topmost balcony was empty; the rest was filled. About 12,000 people were there. Other Garden meetings had been larger, but few were livelier. No punches were pulled. The foreign guests threw away their prepared speeches.

Sen. Giua raised both hands and said: "There is another force for war in Italy, the Vatican—the Vatican which once called Mussolini the 'Man of God.'"

He recalled: "We said the Marshall Plan was a prelude to a war plan. Now we have the war plan—the Atlantic Pact."

Mr. Hutchinson told of Britain's role as "America's unsinkable aircraft carrier and shock absorber." British troops, he said, would be assigned to hold the Elbe line until Americans could get there. "In this rather considerable task we shall have the aid of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg."

PREPARE FOR PEACE. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) told how he alone stood up in Congress for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law. He said: "The Benedict Arnolds and the Judases of labor knifed labor in the U.S. Jim Carey (secretary-treasurer of the CIO) buttonholed Congressmen in the lobbies to vote against the Marcantonio bill. . . . I ripped down the white flag of surrender that the Administration and the phony leaders of labor had rung up." The crowd was on its feet and ready to fight.

And Henry Wallace said: "We are fighting fascism at home and abroad. . . . I call on the Administration as I call on the American people to reject the Pact. I call on them to prepare for peace at Paris. Let us reject this covenant of death and make a compact with life instead."

Tired but happy at the peace tour windup in New York's Madison Sq. Garden: Henry Wallace and Lester Hutchinson, M.P.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

EAST-WEST

German headache

IN Paris, electricians and scrub women were prettying up the pink marble palace on the Avenue Foch—formerly one of Jay Gould's more modest pieces of real estate—for the opening session of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

Western experts busied themselves at the French Foreign Ministry on the Quai d'Orsay attempting to hammer out a common front on Germany. Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky, who will lead a 70-man Soviet delegation, was due in Paris at the week-end.

Biggest topic of speculation was over the substance of expected Russian proposals, and the possibility of relaxation of the U.S. economic war against the Soviet sphere, as the prelude to a political settlement.

PROGRESSIVELY RELAXED. In the imposing United Nations Palace in Geneva, delegates to the UN Economic Commission for Europe thought they detected some straws in the wind. The U.S. recently lifted export restrictions on some 500 items. Last week Averell Harriman, ECA Ambassador at Large, told delegates at Geneva, according to the **New York Times**, that "U.S. export restrictions will be progressively relaxed on shipments of goods to all parts of the world, including Eastern Europe."

In Eastern Germany, People's Congress leaders announced the Congress will convene in Berlin May 29 to choose a delegation to "speak for all Germany" at the Paris Four Power Conference. The People's Congress program calls for resumption of trade between the East and West Zones and for German political unity.

"ORIENTAL MANEUVERS." Two-day elections in the Eastern Zone last week constituted a plebiscite on this program. Out of 14,000,000 eligible voters almost 13,000,000 participated. The balloting was in Eastern European style: for a single list of candidates nominated after discussions in the trade unions, political parties, women's and youth groups—mass organizations composing the People's Congress.

The poll was barred in the Western Zones but committees there selected 500 delegates to represent them. Some 1,500 delegates were elected in the Eastern Zone.

The "nein" jugglers

U.S. officialdom dismissed the elections beforehand as "Hitler Ja elections." When returns showed an opposition vote of 4,000,000, it was proof to U.S. observers that Germans have extraordinary courage. Acheson called the 66% Yes vote "an overwhelming rejection" of the Russians.

(On the same day Franklin D. Roosevelt's 50,9% vote in the special New York congressional election, in which 58.6% of the eligibles voted, was called a "sweeping victory"; the number of eligibles voting was far above the record for such an election).

NOT BAD. German experts saw the election results as an accurate reflection of the support for Soviet policies in the Eastern Zone. It was clear enough that the elections were not rigged. The number of No votes was equally clearly a disappointment to the Soviet administration, but only four years after Hitler the score was not too bad. .

U.S. officials, it was pointed out, are often victims of their own propaganda. In Berlin they have repeatedly said that the Soviet Zone is on the verge of economic collapse. But an analysis of Soviet Zone economy made recently by two senior U.S. economic officials in Berlin showed that Eastern Germany has made a definite economic comeback despite the counter blockade. Production is up substantially, foreign trade has trebled in six months.

The study, ignored by the American press, shows industry by industry that the "paralysis" described by U.S. officials is wishful thinking.

FEET OF CLAY. Berlin's first week without the blockade saw West Berliners getting their first taste of real potatoes and fresh vegetables. Gen. Lucius D. Clay took off from Tempelhof airfield for home, retirement and a hero's welcome in Washington and New York. From the President, in the White House rose garden, Clay received a second oak leaf cluster to his Distinguished Service Medal. To a cheering House and Senate he gave an account of his stewardship. To a press conference he urged bringing Germany into the democratic brotherhood.

Hands off trusts

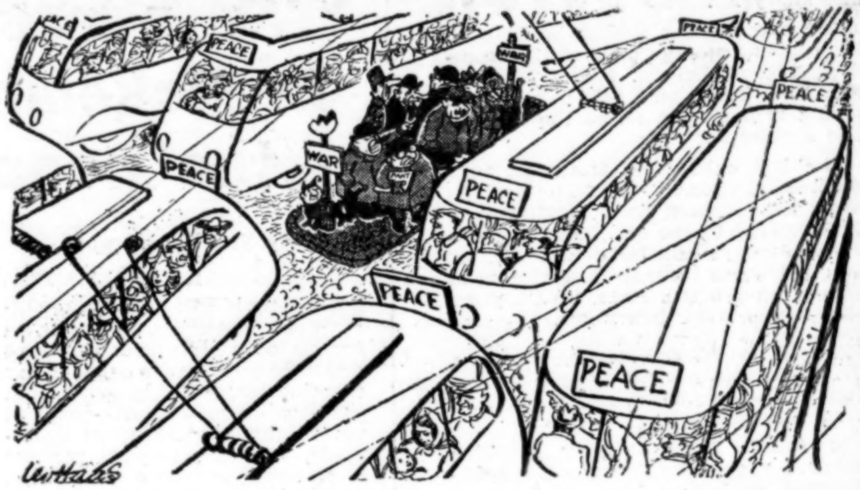
His enthusiastic welcome could not entirely conceal some ugly aspects of his regime. In Frankfurt, Charles Collison, deputy chief of the decartelization branch, was fired. He charged that his testimony before the Special Army Investigating Committee, which recently revealed Clay's sabotage of the anti-trust program, was responsible.

In Washington it was revealed that one of Clay's last official acts was to order Alexander Sacks to stand trial May 25 for disloyalty to his superiors. Sacks is the Army employee whose testimony before the Investigating Committee blew wide open the decartelization scandal.

A LA CARTEL. Appointment of John J. McCloy as new "supreme U.S. authority in Germany" did not augur well for the future of the decartelization program. McCloy before the war was a member of the law firm of Cravath, de Gersdorff, Swaine & Wood. This New York firm for many years defended and represented the I. G. Farben cartel and its U.S. affiliates.

As Assistant Secretary of War 1941-45, McCloy had special authority over the War Department's political policy in Europe. With his brother-in-law, Lewis Douglas, now U.S. Ambassador to London, McCloy worked consistently to save German monopoly interests. Assigned to implement occupation policy in 1945, he loaded the economic staff of Military Government with big businessmen having ties to the German cartels. He played a key role in reversing Roosevelt's German policy.

When McCloy resigned in 1945, he joined the firm now known as Millbank, Tweed, Hope, Hadley & McCloy. This law firm represents the Rockefellers, old cartel partners of I. G. Farben.



Tvorba, Prague

On the traffic island: "It seems as if nothing is running in our line."

Peace goes on

WHEN the conference of the Partisans of Peace was winding up in Paris last month, Jefferson Caffery, retiring U.S. Amabassador to France, said: "Our ears are still echoing with the sound of the beating of wings of innumerable doves, a sound almost as monotonous as the arguments of those who foregathered under the sign of that wretched bird."

Last week the "wretched birds" were beating their wings in widely scattered parts of the world.

In France, dark-haired, lean Prof. Frederic Joliot-Curie, High Commissioner for Atomic Energy, was a storm center. In the Chamber of Deputies there were moves to fire him. In the cities and countryside petitions were being signed in the thousands to keep him on his job. Right-wing scientists joined their names to those of left-wing workers.

FOR HIS COUNTRY. Last week in Paris Joliot-Curie talked to GUARDIAN's Ella Winter.

He has declared he will not turn his atomic research to war purposes.

"Even though you work for the government?" Miss Winter asked. Joliot-Curie said: "I am working for my country. It is not always the same thing. In Hitler Germany it wasn't. . . . I would refuse to have scientific discoveries of mine used by any nation whatever for mass slaughter."

MIGRANT DOVES. Joliot-Curie was preparing to go to London. He, Paul Robeson, Konni Zilliacus, M.P., and scientist J. D. Bernal were to tour the city for peace. In all London they could not find a large hall that would grant them a platform. They had to hire four small meeting rooms and planned to travel by car from one to the other.

PALOMAS TOO. In Mexico City an American Continental Congress for Peace was being prepared for Aug. 1. Key figures were former President of Mexico Lazaro Cardenas and Vicente Lombardo Toledano, president of the Latin-American Federation of Labor and a vice-president of the World Federation of Trade Unions. A fight for visas was brewing.

CHINA

Shanghai: no exit

ON either side of the Whangpoo River there are farms of oil tanks bearing the names of British and U.S. firms.

(Continued on following page)

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, MAY 18, 1949

Awed by U. S. 'Melting Pot'

BERLIN, May 17 (AP).—Nine labor leaders of West Berlin returned today from the United States, awed by "the greatest melting pot in the world." "What impressed us most was the way America has assimilated the people of fifty nations in a democratic political life," said Gustav Pietsch.

Continued from preceding page

Last week shells from the guns of the People's Army were falling all over that incendiary lot.

A crowd seeking shelter broke open the gasoline storage area of the Standard Vacuum Oil Co. Walter Sullivan, **New York Times** man, said it was "like taking refuge from an earthquake inside a volcano."

The last exits from Shanghai were slammed shut one by one. The People's Army was pinching close the Whangpoo River escape to the sea. Pan American World Airways and Northwest Airlines said they would suspend service until the siege was lifted. The main Lunghwa airport was under heavy fire.

JUST IN CASE. Col. Chiang Wei-kuo, the 33-year old son of Chiang Kai-shek, flew in from Formosa. He was to lead a counter attack.

It failed. People's Army machine gunners spotted his command headquarters and drove him out of it. A reporter told of how a major on the Colonel's staff tossed away his insignia of rank "just in case we were hit or captured." Shanghai's defenders did send up a number of planes to bomb and strafe the besiegers.

The rattle of machine guns and the crash of shells could be heard in downtown Shanghai. And through the streets the tumbrils continued to roll to street corner execution sites.

SUSPECT POPULATION. In Canton garrison commanders felt threatened by the rapid southern sweep and prepared to evacuate officials. The British crown colony of Hong Kong, where left-wing Chinese have been given sanctuary and considerable freedom, considered banning all organizations with connections outside the colony. A fresh tide of refugees was momentarily expected from Canton.

All the Chinese in China were suspects. In London Colonial Secretary Arthur Creech Jones told Commons of "the grave danger of allowing (into Hong Kong) an excessive number (of Chinese) of whatever type." The government was considering registering all Chinese in Hong Kong.

But even as new refugees arrived, others turned around and headed for Tientsin, resolved to do business with Communists. Among these were 25 foreigners who had made their peace with the new China within the last two weeks. Americans were among them.

NO TAKERS. Meanwhile Acting President Li Tsung-jen dispatched his personal adviser, Kan Chi-hou, to Washington. The Central Trust, jockeying for Chiang Kai-shek instead of Li, refused to grant him $40,000 expense money. He left anyway.

In Washington Secretary of State Dean Acheson seemed in an unresponsive mood. He told newsmen that he agreed with Pandit Jawarharlal Nehru, prime minister of India and friend of the West, that the time was not yet ripe for a Pacific Pact to match the Atlantic. The trouble seemed to be that aside from Acheson and Nehru there were few people wanting to sign.

The war goes on

Exclusive

The parasites live in sickening splendor —the people in caves

By Stanley Karnow

MADRID

MADRID is like a cheap Hollywood movie set, in which an avenue of authentic-looking buildings turns out to be, on closer examination, nothing more than pasteboard fronts flimsily propped up. In this city of broad boulevards, flowering tropical gardens and spacious open-air cafés, nothing is quite real. The opulent men with their beautiful women are the parasites of a top-heavy government which has been filling its pockets at the expense of a starving people.

An ordinary, "middle-class," white-collar employee in one of Franco's government offices pays more here for his black market apartment than a Barcelona worker earns in a month. In the Hotel Astoria a Franco-fostered businessman will spend the same amount in one night—not counting tips and taxes.

Everything in fascist Spain is designed by the people who have the money—for the people who have the money.

WHAT PESETAS WILL DO. There is more building going on in Madrid than in any other city in Western Europe, but not one square inch of living space will ever be occupied by a Spanish working or lower middle-class family.

The only way to lay hands on cement, steel, wood, and other construction materials is through the black market—and the black market invariably turns out to be located in one of the back rooms of your nearest government building.

One builder, trying to keep within legal limits, has taken three years to get half way through his proposed four-story structure. He expressed little hope that the building would ever be finished.

The intelligent Spanish contractor, on the other hand, merely telephones one of his pals at the proper ministry, a bit of money passes hands, and building proceeds without hindrance. The boys at the ministry have friends—business relations, you might say—who want new apartments. Favor is returned by favor amidst a shower of peseta notes and good-natured handshaking.

BLACK HOLES. For those whose political and economic backgrounds have excluded them from this happy little group, there are always the caves. Out beyond the **Retiro**, Madrid's Central Park, is a series of small cliffs which fall gradually into a broad valley. Here, in utter misery and squalor, live human beings in a poverty that would put an Oriental to shame.

There is nothing picturesque about living in a cave. On a dismal rainy day we visited them, awkwardly self-conscious about sticking our well-washed faces into someone's private home, however humble. Deftly avoiding the police who stroll the area fending off inquisitive visitors, we sloshed through the mud and slid down the shallow embankments into which the caves are dug.

These are not hobos on the bum, but whole colonies of families existing inside black holes in the earth. No question of electricity or water. A woman, her feet bare, her clothes a bundle of rags, is trying to get an outdoor fire started. She is lucky to have something to cook.

The opening to her "home" is a doorway—without a door—framed and supported by a r[...]
rotting wood. The floo[...]
walls and ceiling, is so[...]
covered perhaps with [...]
or straw mats. The [...]
which serve as fur[...]
strewn around in son[...]
manner—it doesn't mu[...]

There isn't any more [...]
about these caves of M[...]
are merely one of t[...]
realities of Franco's S[...]

HAPPY COPS. Anothe[...]
co's fascist realities is [...]
In ten years of power t[...]
has managed to b[...]
smooth-running forc[...]
guards, secret agents, a[...]
police which numbers [...]

After the army, t[...]
Ministry of the Inte[...]
controls the police—ha[...]
est appropriation on [...]
budget. Last year it [...]
almost $1,000,000,000 [...]
much as the governme[...]
ture for industry, com[...]
culture, and labor com[...]

But even with tha[...]
sum, the police mus[...]
special favors to keep [...]
For example, each c[...]
right to an extra mo[...]
ration of 24 pounds, w[...]
ally, he sells on the b[...]

When Franco was [...]
cently that news of [...]
was fomenting discon[...]
the people, he decide[...]

UNITED NATIONS

The windup

IN the Assembly at Flushing Meadow UN delegates debated overtime. Brazil, Bolivia, Peru and Colombia had joined to sponsor a resolution that would have lifted the 1946 ban on sending ambassadors to Madrid.

Some people in Barcelona joined in the debate by bombing the consulates of Brazil, Bolivia and Peru.

In the end the resolution was defeated 26 to 15 with 16 abstentions. The Western powers were among the abstainers. Poland proposed a stronger resolution against Franco. Dr. Juliusz Katz-Suchy of Poland embarrassingly cited the address of Clement Attlee to the Attlee battalion of the International Brigade during the Spanish civil war. Vladimir Popovich of Yugoslavia spoke feelingly for it; he had served in Spain.

That resolution too was defeated. But even a draw seemed to progressives to be a clear gain.

On the day after his defeat Generalissimo Francisco Franco spoke in Madrid. Britain, he said, had betrayed her promises to Spain. He added: "Realities lead us toward the United States, but with dignified relations, reciprocal loyalty and clear friendship."

Disposition of Italy's former colonies was also left for the closing hours. (See Hitschmann, p. 9). Italy lost.

Not all the victories were confined to official sessions. The Berlin settlement grew out of an armchair talk in the Delegates' Lounge. On Thursday the Russian News Agency **Tass** revealed that another armchair talk had yielded another promise. On April 26, it was reported, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk and British Minister of State Hector McNeil had "proposed unofficially" to talk about settling the war in Greece. Russia agreed to talk on the basis of a broadcast by the People's Movement in the hills. Terms would include free and supervised elections, general amnesty and withdrawal of foreign troops.

The spring session closed on a note of triumph. Dr. Katz-Suchy said: "The movement for freedom against fascism and colonialism outside the UN found its expression."

Konni Zilliacus

Rebels in the Labor Party are swarming—for peace

Two Labor MP's, Konni Zilliacus and Leslie J. Solley, were expelled from the Labor Party this week. Zilliacus voted against the Atlantic Pact and Solley, a sharp critic, was absent. Zilliacus, declaring himself in tragic disagreement with Labor Party leaders, whom he called "ersatz Tories in foreign affairs" and "semi-Tories in home affairs," commented: "The fight for the soul of the Labor Party, which is also the fight for peace, has now begun." In this exclusive cable to GUARDIAN he gives the background of the Labor revolt.

By Konni Zilliacus

LONDON

WHEN Parliament voted on the Atlantic Pact, 258 Labor MP's upheld the government. But four Labor MP's voted against the Pact and 142 abstained. This was on a three-line whip! A three-line whip indicates to party members that their vote is an absolute must—the pieces of paper left by the whips are underlined three times, the strongest possible command to party members.

When the bill regulating the status of Irish Free State citizens in British territory came up, 60 Labor MP's defied another three-line whip to vote against the government on one division or another, and one-third of the Labor Parliamentarians abstained. There were strong protests against the evils of the "Orange police state" of Northern Ireland with its gerrymandered constituencies. The revolt was due to traditional labor dislike for Tory Ulster and the strong Irish labor vote.

The Atlantic Pact abstentions revealed deep-spreading disquiet with the Labor Party over a treaty which seals the Labor Government's surrender to Churchill's war policy. The Labor leaders' reply is to try to hammer the Party into submission. The result may surprise them.

The Tory London **Evening Standard** was not far wrong when it pointed out that the purge will increase the discontent and rebelliousness of a party already dissatisfied with the budget, frightened by the results of local elections, worried by the drift to war, and now also angry. The paper accuses the Labor Party of boss rule. The London **Times** is also critical.

...ve! Inside Franco Spain

...d by a rectangle of ... The floor, like the ...ing, is soft, wet dirt, ...ps with newspapers ...ts. The few boxes ... as furniture are ...d in some illogical ...oesn't much matter.

...any more to describe ...aves of Madrid. They ...one of the horrible ...ranco's Spain.

...S. Another of Fran...alities is the police. ...f power the Caudillo ...d to build up a ...ng force of civil ... agents, and political ...numbers over 500,000. ... army, the Spanish ... the Interior—which ...police—has the high...tion on the Spanish ... year it ran up to ...0,000,000 — twice as ...government expendi...stry, commerce, agri...abor combined.

...with that staggering ...lice must be given ... to keep them loyal. ... each cop has the ...extra monthly sugar ...ounds, which, natur... on the black market. ...nco was advised re... news of this scandal ...g discontent among ...e decided to cut the police back to the regular ration. At this the police rose in protest, complaining that "their rights were being infringed upon," and the Caudillo restored their privilege immediately. The more wretched the people, the more the cops must be indulged.

WAR GOES ON. Here, along the avenues of Madrid, Franco's vicious **Guardia Civil**, wearing comic-opera hats and carrying slung sub-machine guns, walk by twos, serious and businesslike. Others guard banks, monuments, museums, churches; a small detachment, with bayonets fixed, commands each public building. They have the right to shoot first without bothering to ask or answer questions afterward.

Outside the large cities, the civil guards have the embarrassing job of keeping the guerrillas in check —an almost impossible task. In the Northern Catalonian and Basque mountains, and in the hills around Valencia, bands of Republicans are still carrying on the Civil War, sweeping down to raid government installations, destroy bridges, derail trains, and from time to time engage in full-scale battle with the **Guardia Civil.**

The reports of one Communist underground organization, for example, the **Agrupacion Guerrillera de Levante** (Levant Guerrilla Group), read like a series of war communiqués:

January 11—Forces of the First Battalion, Third Company, attacked barracks of **Guardia Civil** at Puerto Escandon (Teruel). Fighting lasted 30 minutes. Four guards killed, three wounded. Our forces obliged to retreat in face of reinforcements.

February 10—Units of the First Battalion, Second Company, laid mines along Valencia-Teruel railroad. Destruction halted traffic for ten hours.

June 6—Forces of the First Battalion, Fifth Brigade, occupied the village of Monterde de Albarracin (Teruel), taking money and guns from the Falangists. After fraternizing with the civil population, our forces retired without difficulty.

IN THE SHADOWS. In a good month last year, this organization managed, in nine encounters, to kill 22 civil guards and destroy eight locomotives, 75 railroad cars and four trucks, at a loss of seven of their own men.

The guerrillas—Socialists, Anarchists, or Communists—are poorly-equipped, picking up arms and ammunition only from successful raids on the police and food from sympathetic villagers. Only the Communists have proposed unifying the resistance forces under a central committee in France, but no response has yet been heard from the other parties.

Their families and friends are in constant danger of arrest. Parents, wives, and children of guerrillas have been tortured and killed by the police, and persons even suspected of feeding or hiding the Loyalist fighters are executed indiscriminately.

THE TERROR. Working closely with the **Guardia Civil** is the **Policia Armada,** the political police, who skulk around the industrial areas of Barcelona, Valencia, and Bibao, trying to wipe out underground activity, prevent public manifestations and break strikes.

Augmenting these armed police, Franco maintains a force of secret agents which filters silently through schools, hotels, restaurants—wherever Spaniards congregate. Every day, persons are brought into the basement of the Ministry of the Interior, a building which peacefully covers one side of the Puerta del Sol (Madrid's Times Square),—beaten up and either thrown into jail or released on "house arrest."

There are about 100,000 Spaniards living under this system of "conditional liberty," simply because it saves the government the cost of feeding them. One Spaniard, whose crime consists of having held office under the Republican government, has been living like this for the past seven years.

Having escaped to France after the Civil War, he was delivered back to Franco by the Gestapo in 1942, after doing two years of forced labor in Germany. He must report to the police twice a month, and is forbidden to leave Madrid under any circumstances.

NEXT WEEK: How Franco is selling the Spanish people into peonage to U. S. cold warriors and big business.

Bidstrup in Ny Dag, Stockholm

came from the Pentagon to 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, to give a course in the industrial problems of running the next war. He lectured to selected, nameless industrialists and reserve officers. The last mobilization in 1942 was slow, wasteful, inadequate; the brass in the armed forces and in industry had better get together, he advised.

OPERATION SNOOP. Lt. Col. W. R. Starke said the country had lost interest in plant security during the last war because the FBI had German sabotage so well controlled and because enemy action was remote. This time it was to be different.

He said: "Communism has penetrated every segment of our society." He recommended guards for vital plant areas, mail and classified materials; he also urged the screening of employees, the enlisting of some employees to watch others and report on them.

Seventh of an ounce

The Colonel had no sooner finished his security talk than the New York **Daily News** in headlines two inches high proclaimed: ATOM BOMB URANIUM VANISHES. SECRET MATERIAL EITHER LOST OR STOLEN AT CHICAGO PLANT.

The Atomic Energy Commission in Washington admitted that a small quantity of uranium had been missing. Most of it had been recovered, though one seventh of one ounce was still unaccounted for. The Commission added, though, that it was "neither lost nor stolen." Most of the uranium recovered was found in machine turnings, chemical solutions and other "waste matter" of the laboratory.

THE CARE OF ANIMALS. The Commission leaped to bolster another front. It had directed the University of Chicago not to negotiate with the progressive United Public Workers (CIO). The University's contract with the union had been signed five years before to cover all housekeeping and dietary employees. An NLRB election confirmed the UPW as the bargaining agent last fall. The AEC said workers handled animals used in radioactive experiments, and therefore could not be represented by UPW.

Michael Mann, secretary of the Illinois CIO Industrial Union Council, came to the commission's rescue and announced the CIO had chartered a new University of Chicago Employees Industrial Union No. 1657 to undercut the UPW. The new union's officers convened amicably with university officials.

ITALY

Vatican scandal

JOSEPH Cardinal Mindszenty was tried for black-market dealings and treason in socialist Hungary. He confessed. The U.S. press wondered how Communists could wring such things from a man. Some suggested drugs. Some thought it was the work of a new weapon to disintegrate souls.

Italy is capitalist, controlled by the Vatican and the U.S. Yet the sensation of the spring is the trial of a Papal chamberlain for similar crimes. He has confessed. The U.S. press is silent.

Eduardo P. Cippico, now nicknamed "Monsignor of the Billions," is highly placed in the Vatican's financial secretariat. He confessed to stealing some 2,000,000,000 lira unofficially and for purposes he refused to reveal. The gossip was that he liked U.S. cars and Italian film actresses.

Officially he was supposed to obtain foreign currency for the Vatican, trading liras for dollars or gold Swiss francs, a completely illegal activity.

"NOT QUITE." The presiding judge asked the accused: "It appears from the evidence that everyone at the Vatican not only knew about your black market dealings but participated in them?"

Cippico's answer made headlines: "Not quite, Your Honor. Of course, everyone knew about it but only a few of... really speculated on the black market."

Cippico had "disappointed" some wealthy and influential Italian bankers and industrialists. They had given him many million liras to exchange into dollars which the Vatican would acquire in its transactions with Catholic organizations all over the world. These liras somehow disappeared. The infuriated bankers and industrialists demanded an investigation which after more than a year's delay led to the present trial.

FINANCIALLY WEAK. Cippico, a dignified-looking blond priest in his early 40's, put the responsibility for "the international financial operations" of the Vatican on his superior, Monsignor Guidetti. Guidetti was the Vatican's Secretary of Finance until last spring when the scandal about the Vatican's huge black market operations broke wide open. The Pope was then forced to part regretfully from Monsignor Guidetti and allow him to retire to a monastery.

Cippico is now apparently taking the rap for his former superior, who appeared as a witness at the trial. Guidetti, a man over 70, with many years' experience as head of the Vatican Treasury, delighted the audience by confessing: "Your Honor, I'm weak on financial technicalities." The judge gasped. The courtroom exploded in laughter.

Victory on the left

Less pungent but of more immediate consequence was the news from Florence that the national congress of the Socialist Party had reelected dynamic, leftwing Pietro Nenni to the Party executive committee.

For Nenni, who was ousted from the Executive Committee after the elections last year, it was a great personal triumph; for working-class unity a clear gain. Nenni two days later was elected Secretary General of the party. His party colleague Michele Giua, who just completed a peace crusade with Henry Wallace, was also elected to the executive committee.

Nenni's re-election and the stand of the Italian Socialist Party for united action with the Communists earned for them the disapproval of the International Socialist Conference at Baarn, Holland. The Conference expelled the Italian Socialists.

THE NATION

War? Old hat!

"WAR has gone out of existence," said the sergeant over the telephone, ". . . as far as the Army is concerned." He explained: "It is no longer the Industrial War College Board; it is now the Armed Forces Industrial College that runs courses on economic mobilization."

On files, on letterheads and office doors "war" was crossed out; the mobilization schemes, their purpose and net result would be the same.

Last week mobilizer Col. G. A. Harvey of the brightly rechristened college

WASHINGTON WEEK

Pact scramble

THE Senate Foreign Relations Committee ended its hearings on the North Atlantic Pact Wednesday. The job was to get committee approval of the Pact during the weekend so that the U.S. representative could carry a club to the Big Four Foreign Ministers' meeting in Paris.

All told, the committee spent three weeks and one day in hearings, heard 97 witnesses pro, con and in the middle. The hearings themselves had become a mere formality; toward the end Chairman Tom Connally (D-Tex.) was the only committeeman present.

One of the last witnesses was Seymour Linfield, representing the Young Progressives of America. He charged that under the Pact the U.S. was committing itself to armed intervention in the case of internal disorders in Atlantic Pact nations; that troops would be "sent to Europe to keep tottering undemocratic governments in power." Connally said it wasn't so. Sen. Arthur Vandenberg (R-Mich.) said he didn't think it was so but "we ought

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to find out." He called upon the Administration to make the point clear.

Although committee approval of the Pact was being rushed, the timing for floor debate was indefinite. It wasn't on the Senate calendar; some thought it wouldn't reach the floor earlier than June. Ratification will require a two-thirds vote of the Senate.

LABOR STYMIED. Labor legislation was completely stymied. In the House a movement was under way to table the whole issue for the rest of this year.

The administration's strong man in the closely divided House Labor Committee is Augustine B. Kelley (D-Pa.) Last week the President sent him off to Geneva, Switzerland, for a five-week tour of duty at the International Labor Conference. Republicans and others were quick to see in the assignment another instance of Administration sabotage of its own announced program.

In the Senate no action was set but Administration leaders there had already announced a willingness to compromise on the Taft-Hartley Law. Outside Washington protest was heard from John L. Lewis, William Green and most emphatically Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.)

A Brooklyn-inspired "People's Lobby" march on Washington June 8, to demand that the President and his Congress keep their promises, had snowballed last week to include most of New York State. The Brooklyn ALP, which sponsored the move, predicted more than 9,000 would be in the capital that day to demand action on election campaign pledges.

Snyder's double

THE Senate last week confirmed the President's choice for Secretary of the Navy, Francis P. Matthews, lawyer and part-owner of a finance company and radio station in Omaha, Neb. Asked about his maritime experience, Matthews said: "I've got a rowboat at my summer place." He offered no clue as to why he was picked and said he "didn't ask."

He stood on his record: He is a director of Father Flanagan's Boys' Town. In 1948 he kept the Nebraska delegation to the Democratic Convention in line for Truman. In 1946 he was chairman of a U.S. Chamber of Commerce Commission to study communism. His report found communism in many places, high and low. In 1944 Pope Pius XII appointed him Secret Papal Chamberlain with Cape and Sword. In appearance he is a dead ringer for Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder, down to his rimless spectacles.

Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson commented: "A magnificent appointment. Mr. Matthews will be a tower of strength to national defense."

Won by a smile

MANHATTAN's 20th Congressional District, a five-mile strip along the west side of town had been returning Democrat Sol Bloom to Congress for 26 years. Bloom died last winter.

To fill his shoes the district last week emphatically chose Frankin D. Roosevelt Jr. The vote, an all-time record for a special election, was: Roosevelt (Liberal and Four Freedoms Parties) 41,146; Municipal Court Justice Benjamin H. Shalleck (orthodox Tammany Democrat) 24,352; William H. McIntyre (Rep.) 10,026; Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein (ALP) 5,348.

BANG-THUD. Young Roosevelt's political career was launched with a bang. Contributing to the noise was the thud of collapsing Tammany Hall.

Roosevelt and Shalleck had no differences on platform. Even the Republican McIntyre agreed with most of what they advocated. Only the ALP candidate stumped on a program that offered room for debate. Her issues were peace and housing.

Issues didn't seem to count. Annette Rubinstein, whose vote was low even for the minority ALP, summed it up after the tally: "The formula in this election was a glamorous name and a quarter of a million dollars, and neither of these did we have."

It was a question, though, how far the name, abetted by a trace of a familiar smile, might carry young FDR in Congress. Dampening Liberal Party celebrations he said: "I'm a Democrat. I'll serve as a Democrat." From the President came a wire warmly welcoming Roosevelt into the fold.

While Congressional Democrats wondered what to do with him and Tammany picked up the pieces, the victor prepared for a vacation in Europe before reporting on the job.

The fame of the name and a smile a mile wide. That's what won for Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. Plus some real sidewalk campaigning, as above. F. D. R. Jr. kissed babies and beamed at the ladies like a veteran trouper.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Freedom to incite

ON Feb. 7, 1946 Gerald L. K. Smith, head of the fascist America First Party, called a meeting in Chicago. To it came Fred Kister, head of the Christian Veterans, and as a special guest the Rev. Arthur W. Terminiello, a priest of Birmingham, Ala. He was a heavy-jowled, bespectacled little man. He assailed the New Deal, England, Communists and Jews in such unpriestly language as to stir a riot. He was arrested, charged with "creating a diversion tending to produce a breach of the peace," found guilty and fined $100.

Last week the U.S. Supreme Court by a 5-4 decision reversed that verdict. Justice Douglas, speaking for the "liberal" majority, said: "A function of free speech under our system is to invite

dispute." Justice Jackson spoke for the "conservative" minority: "The choice is not between order and liberty. It is between liberty with order and anarchy without either."

VOLTAIRE & MEDINA. The decision touched off anew the age-old debate about the nature of freedom between paler-shaded liberals (who believe with Voltaire in anybody's right to say anything anywhere any time) and those of deeper hue who think freedom stops where incitement against particular racial and religious groups begins.

The spectacle of liberals ruling for a fascist whose words demonstrably produced violence, at a time when left wingers are put on trial on the ground that they might produce it on some future occasion, was hardly strange in the context of other national trends.

To Terminiello the results were gratifying, not momentous. He had been suspended from priestly functions for a while. In June 1947 he foreswore political activity and was reinstated. He is now assistant pastor of a parish at Pensacola, Fla.

'You little rat!'

THE little man got out of the witness chair and walked toward Robert Thompson, one of the 11 Communist leaders on trial for teaching and advocating the principles of Marxism. As he approached, Thompson said: "Keep your hands off me." The little man did. He indicated the defendant with a gesture and said, "This is Comrade Thompson." Said Thompson: "You're no comrade of mine, you little rat."

The little man was Balmes Hidalgo Jr., a bank clerk, who said he has been an FBI informant in the Communist Party since 1946. He attended his last party meeting the night before he took the stand.

He followed John Blanc who testified that in his five years as a plant he had recruited 50 members. One of them was his brother-in-law. Sometimes, he said, he turned in lists of fictitious names as recruits, to make a showing. He paid the initiation fees himself—which were refunded by the FBI.

With Hidalgo, the 13th government witness and seventh who served in party ranks on FBI assignment, the prosecution rested its case.

Campus disorder

THIS week a young ex-GI named Irving Feiner should be taking his exams as a liberal arts junior at Syracuse University. Instead, Feiner has been "separated" (dropped) from the University rolls for being convicted in Syracuse police court of disorderly conduct.

Feiner's disorderly conduct:

Last March 8 he made a speech at a street corner (since known as "Feiner's Corner"), urging attendance at a meeting sponsored by the American Labor Party and Young Progressives of America at which O. John Rogge was to tell Syracuse about the Trenton Six.

At a police court trial two cops testified that Feiner had maligned the Mayor of Syracuse, the Mayor of New York City, the President of the United States and the American Legion. A dozen witnesses denied he had made any of the remarks attributed to him by the cops.

STILL AGAINST IT. The judge offered Feiner a two-year parole if he would renounce the ALP and the YPA. Feiner said "No." He got 30 days in the county prison. He was bailed out in time to take his spring exams, but the day he was released the University announced his "separation."

Said Feiner: "I intend to continue my fight, which began on my induction day April 22, 1943, against . . . Hitler's racism and all its manifestations."

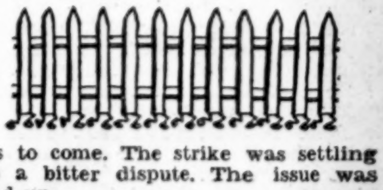
On the University campus the student body began a fight for Feiner's reinstatement.

LABOR WEEK

Ford: strike holds

AN average of 10,000 pickets patrolled the River Rouge plant of the Ford Co. in Dearborn until ex-FBI-man John S. Bugas, company director of industrial relations, made a proposal to the union: send everybody back to work except the men in B Building and the Lincoln plant. They were the only ones with a "direct interest" in the strike, he said.

Amazed strike leaders spluttered: "Fantastic." Next day 18,000 pickets were on hand; 25,000 were promised in



days to come. The strike was settling into a bitter dispute. The issue was speed-up.

RELUCTANT LEADER. Henry Ford II denounced the strike as union politics. That, of course, didn't explain the militancy of the rank and file. But there were differences between the Ford Local and the national leaders. Some of them were showing.

While strike leaders were striving for jumbo-sized picket lines, UAW president Walter Reuther announced that Ford strikers had his permission to seek jobs elsewhere. When Reuther announced that he would accept a verbal agreement with Ford, the rank and file circulated petitions insisting that they would accept nothing that wasn't in writing.

United Nations special

How a black man took on—and licked—world imperialism

By Marcelle Hitschmann

FLUSHING MEADOW

A BIG black man from little Haiti upset the imperialist applecart last week at UN. After the dramatic incident, which took place late Tuesday night, newsmen congratulated him.

"We won with the help of Providence," Emil Saint-Lot, Haitian delegate, declared. "With the help of Providence and a little personal work," a correspondent added.

The Haitian vote, a resounding "No," concerned granting Italy trusteeship over Tripolitania. Failure over this crucial paragraph brought about the defeat of the whole resolution.

The issue of the disposal of the former Italian colonies at UN distinguished itself on two counts.

BEHIND THE SCREEN. First, the extravagant and impudent pressure put by Italy—a former enemy and a non-member of UN—on the Assembly's Political Committee.

Britain and the United States felt obligated to an Atlantic Pact partner; besides, they are interested in African bases. The Latin-Americans wanted at all cost to restore the African territories to the "great Roman Catholic Italian democracy."

Carlos Romulo of the Philippines observed that everybody wanted a slice of pie. Many delegates privately admitted that no one gave a damn about what the African peoples wanted. But these peoples—Libyans, Somalis and Eritreans—said emphatically they would fight any attempt to bring Italy back to Africa.

While the Political Committee was showered under by proposals—from a Soviet-sponsored international trusteeship to Arab proposals for full independence — Britain's Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin and Italy's Count Carlo Sforza got together in London and cooked up a plan which was dispatched to Lake Success.

DEMONSTRATIONS. Trouble broke out in Africa as soon as the Political Committee approved, by a simple majority, the Bevin-Sforza deal. The people demonstrated against Britain and the U.S. and acclaimed the Soviet Union for having opposed the plan.

When the plan reached the floor of the Assembly at Flushing Meadow last week, observers felt there were just enough votes for a two-thirds majority—but not one more.

Late at night the resolution was voted, paragraph by paragraph. The granting of Cyrenaica's trust to Britain passed. The granting of the Fezzan to France was passed.

One-third of Lybia was still to be disposed of. It was the most crucial point: the granting of Tripolitania to Italy, so violently opposed by the Tripolitanians. It had to pass to ensure passage of the whole resolution.

The roll call vote was taken. Herbert Evatt, Assembly President, called: "Haiti." Saint-Lot, loud and clear, answered: "No."

That killed the deal. The vote on the paragraph was: 33 in favor; 17 against. This was one vote short of the two-thirds majority.

This spectacular defeat threw the Assembly in an uproar. How was it that little Haiti, usually attuning its vote to that of the U. S., dared disrupt the deal?

HOW IT HAPPENED. Little Haiti, as Saint-Lot told his correspondent, came to this Assembly with the intention of voting in favor of Italy's return to Africa. (It did so in committee.) When it became clear that the African peoples were dead set against Italian rule, Saint-Lot said he could not support the Tripolitanian deal. "Haiti has a deep regard for the principle of self-determination of the peoples and for the UN Charter," he said.

Immediately after the vote on Tripolitania, Argentine delegate Jose Arce went to the rostrum and declared sharply: "A spirit of evil has come out and seems to be winning the game." He added he could no longer support the resolution and would vote against it as a whole.

So, when the final vote on the UN resolution took place, an incredible coalition of Latin American, Slavic, Asiatic and Arab countries killed the Bevin-Sforza deal. The vote was 37 against; 14 for; 7 abstentions.

But Haiti, this time, voted for the resolution. What did that mean?

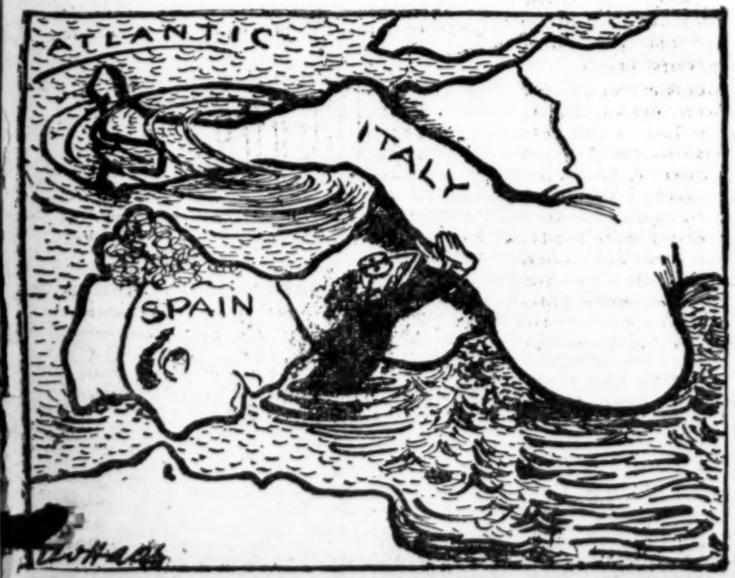
COFFEE BEANS. A story, which was not told by Saint-Lot, goes like this. Haiti's main export is coffee. The U.S., France, Belgium and Italy are Haiti's main clients. Italy informed Haiti that if it opposed the Bevin-Sforza deal it would stop buying coffee. Because of this, and also because of Haiti's dependence on trade with the U.S., the Haitian government instructed Saint-Lot to vote for the deal.

But Saint-Lot just couldn't do it. Senator Saint-Lot has great influence in his country. He owns a paper, **Le Flambeau.** A compromise had to be found. To get out of the dilemma, Saint-Lot voted against the Tripolitanian paragraph, knowing it would kill the resolution. Then he voted in favor of the full draft, to prevent a crisis in coffee exports.

HATS OFF. Thus the courageous stand by small nations had broken the block-voting tactics of the great powers. Despite terrific pressures by the Western powers and Latin Americans on some nations to make them vote in favor of resumption of diplomatic relations with Franco, the attempt was defeated.

In the same way, all the inglorious deals favoring the distribution of African territories to imperialist powers were defeated.

Thus the second part of the Third Assembly, which seemed plagued at the outset by pro-fascist and imperialist influence, suddenly discovered that the UN Charter meant something to the peoples of the world. The big powers, from now on, will have a harder time.



Tvorba, Prague

Italy in the Atlantic Pact or—how long can this position be held?

Who is the law?

U.S. flouts maritime law at will in dealing with Polish ships here

By Ed Falkowski

SELDOM, even in these days of splitting verbal hairs to cover inhumanities, has the U.S. worked legalistic formulas so hard as in its attempt to drag Gerhart Eisler back to America. To intimidate Polish authorities all the books of international law and maritime conventions were dug up.

Yet it is the U.S. that for months past has been flouting maritime conventions and courtesies, in dealing with Polish vessels.

During the MS Batory's last visit in New York harbor on May 5, her provisions master was arbitrarily denied shore leave, preventing him from ordering and receiving food supplies. In addition, 117 others of her 340-man crew were refused permission to come ashore.

The excuse was that "only bona fide seamen" are entitled to shore leave. Of those kept aboard, 52 had been with the line since before 1939; others had war service in the merchant marine.

WHO DO YOU LOVE? Usual procedure is for U.S. authorities to "screen" crew members of Polish liners in American ports, interrogating them as they file past. Among the questions are these:

"Do you belong to the Communist Party?"

"Do you love this country?"

"Do you intend to stay here?"

A crew member who said "yes" to the last question was among those granted shore leave. But he didn't stay.

WE ARE THE LAW. Last March 62 Polish and 38 Italian crew members of the MS Sobieski of the Gdynia-America Line were denied shore leave.

In May, 18 Poles and all the Italians in the Sobieski's crew were detained on board.

Existing laws provide for the return of merchant marine deserters to the jurisdiction of their own governments, but there are no known cases of the U.S. returning Polish deserters. They are hastily classified as "political refugees" and allowed to stay.

Gerhart and Hilde Eisler
International footballs

British rally to Eisler

By Gordon Schaffer

LONDON

PUBLISHED pictures of Gerhart Eisler being carried bodily down the gangplank of the Batory gave the British public a vivid idea of the persecution of this German antifascist. Britishers not normally aroused by political questions were shocked by Home Secretary Chuter Ede's statement that the permit for Eisler's arrest was granted by a Southampton justice of the peace—who need not be a trained lawyer—on the application of U.S. authorities.

Britain's tradition of offering refuge to political refugees continues very deep-rooted. The act under which Eisler was arrested specifically authorizes the Home Secretary to release any person whose extradition is demanded, when he is satisfied the offense is political.

U.S. JUSTICE: DIM VIEW. Demands that this be done are pouring into the Home Office. The British Council for German Democracy immediately organized Eisler's defense as soon as his forcible arrest became known.

The agitation is far from being confined to the extreme left. The middle-road **Manchester Guardian** said Eisler's arrest on a Polish ship would "cause serious misgivings among people of every political persuasion." Harold Laski, former Labor Party chairman recently returned from the U.S., said: "I don't understand how a Labor government can envisage sending back a man who has not been recognized guilty, to a political trial which will take place in such an atmosphere as to render his conviction a certainty."

Report to readers

Business is booming —without fire sales

THE Manhattan neighborhood of which the NATIONAL GUARDIAN office is the hub (in our humble opinion) is also distinctive for Mayor O'Dwyer's City Hall, the cadaverous structures of N.Y.'s onetime Newspaper Row, and the towering Woolworth Building, still New York's most noted landmark.

Mayor O'Dwyer is only a half block east of us, so close that we don't have to tap wires to find out what goes on over there. Old Newspaper Row is just across City Hall Park.

The Woolworth Building is one block south of us and surrounding it, in ancient two-and four-story establishments that have been here since the Year One, some of the world's most fascinating businesses are conducted.

In one such shop (a gunsmith whose chief business nowadays is odd-caliber ammunition for foreign filibusterers) we once picked up six English nickel-plated horse bits for only $5. In others, you can buy hand-forged wrought iron, religious vestments, seeds from Vaughn's, Stumpp and Walters or Henderson's, or a brace of ptarmigan at Washington Market.

MOST inviting of these outfits is one called Alexanders, on Vesey Street south of the Woolworth Building, facing old St. Paul's Chapel. Words cannot successfully encompass the sort of store Alexanders is, or was, as this story will explain. Its wares include almost any tool, gadget or curio ever devised by man.

Only the other day a newspaperman of our acquaintance who has retired to the shad-fishing business dropped in at Alexanders and bought six pairs of leg irons, such as you see in dungeons in movies where Tyrone Power writes with a feather. When asked how he intended to use these leg irons in the fishing business, our friend replied that he hadn't yet figured that out. But at Alexanders' prices, he explained, he just couldn't afford to be without them.

Last Saturday, as it apparently must to all such old-law institutions, fire broke out at Alexanders. Monday the sidewalk out front was clustered with disconsolate gadget-hunters, watching workmen haul charred remnants out of the basement. One hopeful sign, however, overhung the whole atmosphere. It said: "Fire Sale Soon!"

MEANWHILE, under the north shadows of the Woolworth Building, the NATIONAL GUARDIAN is doing a land office business without the help of fire sales. Since we reduced our subscription price from $4 a year to $1 for 40 weeks on Monday, May 2, here is what has happened:

By Wednesday night of the first week, nearly 500 new readers had signed up. By the next Wednesday, May 11, more than 1,000 more had come in. As this column goes to press (Wed., May 18) the figure was passing 1,200 for the past week. By the date of this paper, May 23, the total since we announced the new rates will be well above 3,000.

NEW readers at the rate of 1,000 a week or better is a record to behold, in this day of a declining press. But we think the rate can be increased steeply if you will simply pour yourself a drink when you finish this column, sit down with your address book and send us by return mail a healthy slice of new readership from among your own acquaintances. Send no money, just the names. We'll send you a bill.

And for a premium, you name the gadget your heart is set on, and we'll shop it for you gladly at Alexanders' fire sale prices. No trouble at all, it's a pleasure.

Yours for a million GUARDIAN readers,

John T. McManus

West Coast wire

Dirtiest deal yet for 250,000 Mexicans

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES

BEHIND the cool announcement of U.S. Immigration Service authorities that they will deport 250,000 Mexican aliens, one of the hottest roustings ever suffered by that unhappy population group is going on in the sunny Southwest.

Shadow of the newest deportation cloud fell darkest in Southern California, where 50,000 visiting good neighbors face grillings and a probable heave-ho across the border at Tiajuana.

California's bustling Independent Progressive Party, the Civil Rights Congress, unions with heavy Mexican-American membership rolls and other liberal organizations and individuals are battling against the worst phases of the dragnet.

24 HOURS. They charged Uncle Sam has sent a small army of special immigration cops into the area, that the Spanish-speaking population, both native and foreign-born, is being terrorized and its civil rights menaced by sudden roundups in markets, on gang jobs and in homes entered without search warrants.

Spokesmen for the Civil Rights Congress declared:

"If the scared victim of this kind of invasion of privacy does not at once produce irrefutable proof of legal entry or citizenship, he is dumped across the border within 24 hours, and several hundred persons already are there, without friends, jobs or money."

They cited the danger that American citizens, as well as aliens, will be deported. In one case reported to the CRC, a native of El Paso, visiting in Los Angeles, showed police his draft card, but was removed across the border anyway.

KICKED AROUND. One CRC official declared the deportation drive, like similar ones on the eve of previous depressions, is a "political football."

Your rights

WEST COAST Civil Rights Congress Director Aubrey Grossman warned members and affiliated groups last week that a special crew of FBI agents has been "turned loose" in the area.

Grossman said the influx was due to concentration on Pacific Coast progressive and labor groups in connection with various deportation cases and investigations growing out of the New York and Los Angeles "conspiracy" and political trials.

He declared that the CRC, after careful discussion with counsel, was advising passive non-cooperation with representatives of the "witch-hunt." He said:

"Any person these agents seek to question or have a discussion with has the right to refuse to talk to them and need not permit them in his home."

Immigration spokesmen called it a campaign to repatriate illegal entries and open up jobs for citizens, but others say it is the kickoff in an official program to pacify Californians already feeling the unemployment brunt of postwar cutbacks and elimination of the China war machine market.

During the last depression, 40,000 Mexicans were "repatriated" to Mexico. Now the dragnet is out again in California. Yet, in Idaho and Colorado, additional Mexicans are being brought in as contract labor.

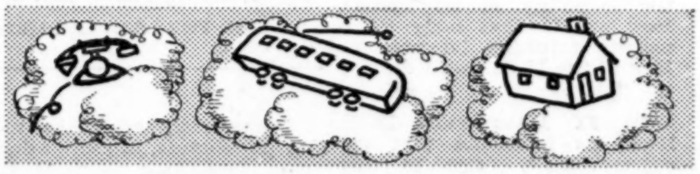
SOMETHING NEW. "It's been going on since 1880," said one oldtimer. "Such great numbers of Mexicans could not slip over the border illegally unless somebody winked at restrictions when big growers and employers cracked the whip.

"Then, when times get tough, the authorities make a gesture and round 'em up like cattle. There's almost always a turnover of 200,000 or 300,000 coming and going."

But this time something new has been added.

Liberal Los Angeles Mexican-American veteran Edward R. Roybal broadly backed City Council candidate, with support ranging from IPP to Msgr. Thomas J. O'Dwyer of the Catholic Social Welfare Bureau, has named a committee to investigate reasons for the rousting and the threat to civil liberties in his city's Spanish-speaking community of 400,000.

Chicago dateline



By Rod Holmgren

CHICAGO

CHICAGOANS this week faced inflationary threats on three fronts—phone rates, streetcar fares and rents.

- The Illinois Commerce Commission has just ordered a temporary rate increase of $7,600,000 for the Illinois Bell Telephone Co.—about 4% a year.
- The Chicago Transit Authority threatens to raise streetcar fares another cent. It already costs 13 cents for a streetcar ride in Chicago.
- The Cook County Rent Advisory Board, created two years ago under the 1947 Rent Control Act, published returns from a "sample survey" of rent property, purporting to show net operating income in 1948 was 11.3% lower than in 1942. One landlord group (Cook County Fair Rent Commitee) promptly announced it would demand a blanket 25% rent increase.

NOT SO SURE. The City of Chicago said it "may" go to court to dispute the Commerce Commission's right to give any phone rate increase at all. Several weeks ago, the Chicago Corporation Counsel presented the Commission with a report by Arthur Andersen & Co. LaSalle St. accounting firm, recommending a permanent rate boost of $26,000,000. It later developed that the Corporation Counsel had failed to obtain any blessing on the report from (a) the Mayor, (b) the utilities committee of the City Council, or (c) the City Council itself.

The City Council last week ordered the Corporation Counsel's office to withdraw the Andersen study. Then it ordered the Corporation Counsel to fight any rate boost in the court, on the ground the Illinois Public Utilities Act specifies rates cannot be raised [illegible] than once in two years. [illegible] Bell got a $25 million hike Dec. 2, 1947.

THE "ALTERNATIVES." Circuit Judges William Brothers and Cornelius Harrington are members of a three-man arbitration board who last week voted to award a $15 a month pension increase to 22,000 operating employees of CTA. The third member, Attorney Thomas Strachan, representing the Authority, voted against the award. The pension has been $60 a month for employees with 20 or more service years who retire at 65.

The CTA this week said the pension boost forces it to consider two alternatives—a wage cut or a fare boost. Robert Stack, Int'l. representative of the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees (AFL), said: "We definitely will not accept any wage cuts."

PLAIN ARITHMETIC. Judges Brothers and Harrington said: "As a matter of plain arithmetic any decision to increase fares this year because of this (pension) award would be utterly unjustified and unwarranted."

But the referendum ballot by which voters two years ago created the Chicago Transit Authority gave its board power to set fares at any level it thinks necessary to guarantee a profit. Most of the Board members, who were appointed by Mayor Martin H. K[illegible] and ex-Gov. Dwight [illegible] have their offices on LaSalle St., and CTA interest-bearing bonds are almost entirely in the hands of LaSalle Street firms.

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"One buck for honest news"

'The freest press in the world'

One got fired --- the other quit

BEHIND the curtain of mink coat, brassiere, whisky and constipation-cure ads, the quiet and dignified process continues of eliminating from U.S. newspaper staffs writers with "dangerous thoughts."

Latest casualties in the publishers' cold war against truth are M. R. Werner of the **New York Herald Tribune** and Aslan K. Humbaraci, Turkish correspondent of the **New York Times.** The **Trib** bounced Werner out on his ear—in a dignified way. The **Times** so distorted and suppressed Humbaraci's dispatches that he took off for England with his family and told **Times** managing editor Edwin L. James to find someone else to wear the editorial harness.

Drawing by Fred Wright

"Of course we want you to tell the truth, but can't you tell it from the publisher's point of view?"

SO SORRY. Since June, 1947, Werner (biographer of Barnum, Brigham Young, Tammany Hall—now engaged on the life of F. H. LaGuardia) has been writing a weekly Report from America for the European edition of the **Trib.** The column has always been highly personalized, frankly flavored with Werner's own views.

On March 16 Werner's report dealt with John L. Lewis and Francis Cardinal Spellman. The coal "holiday" was on; and in a Queens Cemetery the Cardinal was directing strikebreakers. Werner wrote:

"Lewis, bombastic and master of economic melodrama, and Spellman, chubby and mellifluous, both did disserv[ice] to labor's struggle to hold [o]n to its hard-won rights and [p]rivileges."

He wrote two more columns in succeeding weeks before he discovered that his copy no longer was being transmitted to Paris. Then a friend called to say how sorry he was. That was how Werner knew he had been fired.

He wrote to his boss, editor Whitelaw Reid. Reid telephoned back. It was true, Werner had been fired. His offense was "editorializing."

"JUST A FEW LINES." GUARDIAN learned from Reid last week that the Paris edition was "a bit of the **Herald Tribune** over there" and that any opinion in it would be taken for the official view.

He had been "worried over a period of months" about Werner's column.

GUARDIAN pointed out that nothing had been done until Werner criticized the Cardinal.

Was it true, **GUARDIAN** asked, that the Cardinal had protested? Said Reid: "The Cardinal didn't really protest. There were just a few lines from the Cardinal to my mother (Mrs. Ogden Reid, **Herald Tribune** president) pointing out some misstatements in the column.

Werner told **GUARDIAN** he had not criticized the Cardinal as a churchman but only as an employer of labor. In that capacity, he said, "you just can't talk about a Catholic prelate."

Interesting footnotes to the Werner affair: At a recent editorial conference at the **Herald Tribune,** several important staff members were reluctant to review Paul Blanshard's **American Freedom and Catholic Power.** Cardinal Spellman now lives in the Madison Av. mansion purchased from the Reid family. The Reids still drop in for an occasional lunch.

FUNERAL OF FACTS. Correspondent Humbaraci resigned May 2 from "what is a privileged position in today's Turkey—that of representing the **New York Times.**" He said that despite Turkish-American agreements pledging full freedom to report on U.S. military aid to Turkey, he had in reporting factual news "been met with systematic hostility and discrimination by the ruling circles in my country, by officials of the U.S. Embassy and especially of the U.S. Military Mission."

In the **Times,** his reporting when it "was not completely suppressed was cut, rewritten, buried somewhere in the back pages or distorted if it did not happen to fit in with the U.S. State Dept. policies."

The official Turkish organ **Ulus** had described him as a "Moscow agent"; Gen. Hoag, head of the Turkish U.S. Air Force Group, had publicly called him "a liar"; and at the Ankara Golf Club Gen. McBride, head of the U.S. Army Group, had "marched threateningly upon me. . . . shouting loudly that I was a 'bad Turk,' and had to be dragged back to his seat by U.S. Ambassador Wadsworth."

All this for reporting such facts as that there had been so many fatal crashes in the Turkish Air Force, due to technical defects in U.S.-supplied P-47's, that these planes all had to be grounded. U.S. Public Relations Officers had advised Humbaraci to "put the blame on communists."

UNFIT TO PRINT. In his letter to managing editor James, Humbaraci added: "The suppression of civil liberties, the brutal treatment of peasants by a ruthless gendarmerie, the police terror in the towns, the revolt of peasants in remote Anatolian villages, the arrest and imprisonment and torturing of political prisoners, the persecution of intellectuals, the scandalous abuses by officials and the official support extended to the extreme right wing have found no space in the columns of the **New York Times.**

"Further, I can not remember any anti-Russian news from any sources in Turkey that has not been published in the **New York Times**—especially news tending to depict Russia as Turkey's enemy and the menace to Turkey's existence.

"Sir, the greatest menace to Turkey's existence is to be found in my report to you giving figures of the annual expenditure on gendarmerie and police forces as against agriculture, health or the social services; the squandering of money for American de luxe cars for official use, and that close on 400,000 Turkish children die yearly through appalling living conditions."

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Ammoniated tooth powder

AMMONIATED tooth powders, according to the **Wall St. Journal,** "threaten to stir up competitive whirlwinds among makers of dental paste and powder," who "do an $80 million business yearly." The American Dental Assn. is conducting tests of ammoniated powder; they feel it does help reduce decay, but are not certain the action lasts long enough to be significantly useful.

Dentists and pharmacists consulted by this department report the active ingredients and effect of most ammoniated powder brands are basically the same. But the brands range from 27 to 69 cents for a 3-oz. bottle.

Lowest in cost at this writing are ammoniated powders sold by several large dept. stores, with the new **Dr. Lyons** powder next lowest. To be sure that active contents are the same despite price differences, look on the label for the two basic ingredients: di-basic ammonium phosphate and carbamide.

Save on cleaning aids

MANY wage-earners let dimes and quarters dribble away from them for widely-advertised cleaning aids that are really ordinary products under different names.

Most scouring powders are simply whiting or other abrasives. The more efficient ones have a grease-cutting ingredient added. You can buy a big bag of whiting at a hardware store for a few cents, and add a little trisodium phosphate to combine abrasive and grease-cutting actions.

Packaged products for cleaning windows and glass are another group of expensive items that can be easily dispensed with. Ammonia or kerosene are efficient window cleaners. (Sniff glass wax and you'll notice the strong odor of ammonia in it.) It's glycerine that makes glass wax glide over a surface so easily and leave that highly-advertised "invisible film." All you need do is mix a little ammonia and glycerine in water and you have these benefits.

[Wi]dely-advertised household bleaches like **Clorox** are the [same] product as private-brand bleaches like **A&P's Bright Sail,** which cost very much less. Look at the labels: **Clorox** and the other bleaches have exactly the same active ingredient—5.25% sodium hypochloride.

Books for progressives

Crime --- in a clean collar

By Ralph Peterson

WHITE COLLAR CRIME. By Edwin H. Sutherland. Dryden. 272 pp. $3.

WHAT is "white collar crime"? You are the victim of it every day, generally without even knowing it. This is a book that will tell you about it—and make your hair stand on end.

Behind his academic title author Sutherland—an Indiana University sociology professor and a criminologist—conceals one of the most powerful indictments of uncontrolled capitalism yet to see print in this country.

THE 70 GANGS. Dr. Sutherland isn't attacking the known social elements that make up the criminal mind—poverty, maladjustment, frustration, etc. He "analyzes the similarities between white collar lawbreakers and professional criminals in the frequency and organization of their crimes," and studies "the degree of social injury by white collar criminals and their ability to conceal the nature of their behavior."

The criminals he is talking about are the 70 leading U.S. corporations, operating in a realm of crime—big business—that is perfectly respectable though it violates all human laws. They are not named; but set the book alongside the financial page of your newspaper, and it meshes.

1,000 CRIMES A DAY. Corporation crime, dignified by "free enterprise" and legalized by corporate control of our legislative and law-making machineries, becomes matter-of-fact business in American life—under terms like: restraint of trade, rebates, patents, trademarks, copyrights, advertising, financial manipulation, and war industry.

The chain reaction that follows what a firm like Standard Oil considers a perfectly "honest" business practice, becomes in reality a series of crimes against humanity, each leaving in its eddy human wreckage—plus a guilt (if its criminals felt any guilt) that should earn them, under any honest interpretation of the law, maximum penalties. Yet these crimes are committed every day, a thousand times, without the slightest possibility of retribution. Only a few inadequate government agencies such as the Fair Trade Commission—mostly legacies from the New Deal—try to bring them to justice.

As Dr. Sutherland writes, "most of them [U.S. businessmen] were reared in homes in which honesty was defined as a virtue, but these home teachings had little explicit relation to business methods." While the so-called anti-social criminals get swift and often harsh justice, businessmen—without social excuses for their criminal mentalities—are glorified for their acts. They actually gain stature by each new crime.

White Collar Crime is a bookful of dynamite. If they ever get to see it, it will make the ticker-tape boys rather uncomfortable—because it exposes their real motives and thinking.

Boring on the bench

A PIECE of shocking news has come to light. The **New York Times Book Review,** culling through the **American Bar Assn. Journal,** came across a poll of what the Justices of the Supreme Court are reading these days. And this is what it found.

Justice Jackson is reading Andrei Vishinsky's **The Law of the Soviet State.** Justice Reed is reading Stalin's **Leninism.**

Where is the full-blooded American Congressman who will demand to know on the floor of Congress what Attorney General Clark and G-Man Hoover are reading?

The Trenton appeal

Rogge charges collusion to railroad 'Six'

By William A. Reuben

TRENTON, N.J.

SINCE 10 a.m. the lawyers' voices had droned, meticulously formal and correct, showing proper deference to the seven black-robed figures behind the mahogany bar of the court.

In the death-house, where they had sat for a year within a few feet of the door to eternity, six men waited: the Trenton Six.

It was after noon when an angry man arose—his voice loud in the polite room.

"I charge that the prosecutor's office cooperated with the police department to rape justice!"

JUST SIX LIVES. The decorum was shattered; the black-robed figures were ruffled. They stirred uneasily. They admonished the angry man to remember that he was not addressing a hall full of people.

"But I am outraged at this gross miscarriage of justice!" said the angry man. He was O. John Rogge, former U.S. Asst. Attorney General representing three of the condemned Negroes. The State Supreme Court last Monday was hearing the appeal from the Trenton Six convictions.

Rogge had to control his indignation. A lawyer must stick to the law. But with calm logic he tried time and again to cut through the curtain of jargon, to remind the court that six innocent lives were at stake.

GUILT. What was at stake had brought 5,000 people together in protest a week before—in England.

In Trenton, the only morning paper had announced the hearings in a buried nine-line story. But the room was charged like a thunderhead. The sovereign state of New Jersey knew the eyes of the world were upon it, and it behaved with a sense of guilt. The building was surrounded with state troopers in gaudy uniforms.. All but the main entrance were closed. The corridors were patrolled. Only lawyers, reporters and a few relatives of the accused were permitted in the court. Once the hearing began no one was allowed to leave till it was over.

BEG PARDON. Rogge was preceded by three defense attorneys appointed by the trial court: James S. Turp and Frank S. Katzenbach III (both former Trenton judges) and Robert Queen—good Trenton burghers in whose hands the lives of all Six would have rested, had not the Civil Rights Congress, as the N.Y. Times reported, "persuaded three of the defendants to accept their proffered battery of counsel last January."

The three state-paid lawyers assured the justices that the trial had been fair, the judge had been fair, the prosecution had been fair. It was as though they apologized for questioning a verdict of death upon six innocent men.

Turp once suggested that trial prosecutor Mario H. Volpe's summation to the jury (in which Volpe violently abused the Six and called for their electrocution on no evidence but repudiated "confessions") had been "inflammatory." When one of the justices asked, "Are you suggesting his comments went beyond fair comment?" Turp became flustered. "Well, no," he said. "I don't think I wanted to imply that. . . ."

It was a great day for them. Prosecutor Volpe (l.) congratulating his assistant Frank H. Lewton after the Trenton Six were found guilty.

JUST ABORIGINES. "I think that he used mild language for a prosecutor," said the Chief Justice with a smile.

Robert Queen, a 65-year-old Negro attorney, was next. He spoke in a heated, earnest voice, referring to his client, defendant John McKenzie, as "John." No one on the bench seemed to pay him much attention.

Attorney Katzenbach in the course of his argument referred to his client as "a member of a race slightly removed from the aborigine." The remark had no visible effect upon the seven justices.

Even with all the apologetics and dry legalisms, the trial record was ripped apart.

The victims, it was shown, had been arrested haphazardly during a reign of terror. They had been held incommunicado for an unreasonable time in violation of the Constitution. "Confessions" had been extorted from them by violence. The judge's charge to the jury had been improper; the jury had returned an improper verdict; the prosecutor had suppressed evidence.

THE MONUMENT. County Prosecutor Mario H. Volpe, a man active in state Republican politics, defended the arrests, the trial, the conviction. He defended holding the accused incommunicado so extravagantly that he startled at least one of the justices, who asked whether he would regard three months as unreasonably long to hold suspects without bringing any charges. Volpe said he thought it would be, but didn't know how long would be reasonable.

"I say to your Honors," he concluded, "that the record is a monument to Jersey justice."

NEGRO CALVARY. William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress and an associate attorney in the case, said after the hearing:

"The conviction may be reversed on a legal technicality—but the real issue doesn't lie in legalistic arguments; the issue is the attempt, through these six men, to terrorize an entire people, the American Negro. And what went on here today is another indication of the callousness with which American officialdom treats the Negro."

A decision is expected within two weeks.

O. JOHN ROGGE

Trenton profile

Negroes tremble in own ghetto

By Joan Terrall and William A. Reuben

(Second in a three-part series on what makes Trenton tick.)

IN Trenton, N. J., as in other Northern cities to which Negroes have migrated in search of emancipation, the Negro population suffers more inequalities than any other minority group. Many adult Negroes in New Jersey's state capitol still cannot read nor write; until 1947 the city provided only segregated schools for Negro children. Although Trenton is heavily industrialized, most jobs available to its 14,000 Negroes are menial and low-paid.

A Negro may work as boiler-room attendant in the huge Roebling steel cable works, where McKinley Forrest, one of the Trenton Six, was once employed before he was thrown into the Trenton jail on a trumped-up charge of murder; or, like John McKenzie, another Negro sentenced with Forrest, he may pluck chickens in a Trenton poultry terminal where Jersey farmers wholesale their produce; or a Negro may be a handyman, a window-cleaner, janitor or delivery boy.

With earnings low and irregular, several families of in-laws must often live under the same roof, in the tumble-down tenements and rickety frame houses of Trenton's Negro district.

THE GHETTO. A committee appointed by Governor Driscoll to investigate civil liberties reported in April, 1948: "Negroes can never be sure when they leave the vicinity of their homes what conditions they will encounter in unfamiliar areas. Often, when they endeavor to obtain food and lodging, they are subjected to insult and humiliation." But to encounter such conditions they do not have to leave the vicinity of their homes.

Like a Jewish ghetto in Hitler-ruled Europe, the Negro section is overcast by the constant fear of sudden violence, peculiar to a subject race in a white man's stronghold. Because Negroes are poorer, weaker, have no political pull, and because their skin is dark, police terror hits them first and hardest.

During the war a Trenton police captain who said it was "unsafe" for them to stand there talking arrested 19 young Negroes for standing on a street corner. Last year the police clamped martial-law restrictions on the entire Negro community, imposing a curfew with warnings that any Negro walking the streets after dark would be arrested. Hand-picked squads patrolled

Negro streets armed with sub-machine guns and orders to shoot to kill.

NO NOVELTY. There was nothing unique about the grillings, beatings and drugs to which the Trenton Six were subjected, before police were able to extract the confessions that only two of them can remember having made. In the files of the Trenton NAACP are more than 20 signed affidavits of similar police torture.

Before the Trenton Six trial, other Negroes had been convicted on equally dubious confessions. Clarence Hill, victim of the most flagrant case, is serving a life term in the State prison because he can't raise money to appeal his conviction for six murders remaining unsolved over a period of as many years. In a sworn statement Hill named two police detectives who, in the finale of a 13-day grilling, forced him to undress, focused a bright light in his eyes, clubbed him on the head, the legs, the chest, and on the scar of an operation until Hill said: "I don't know what to tell you people, you've got me crazy."

The same detectives played a prominent role in interrogating the Trenton Six. The judge who sentenced Hill [illegible] life in prison was one of the four court-appointed lawyers for the Trenton Six defense.

"WHITES WOULDN'T LIKE IT." An anonymous city employe once observed: "In France, when a crime is committed, the police say, 'Cherchez la femme.' In Trenton, the slogan is, 'Look for the Negro.'" Five percent of the state population, Negroes total 50% of its prisoners.

Occasionally, with extraordinary effort and luck, a Negro raised in Trenton can become a doctor, a dentist, a minister or even a lawyer; then he moves to a more substantial home on Spring Street, the "Park Avenue" of the Negro section. These were the men Mrs. Bessie Mitchell appealed to as the respected leaders of her race, when and since she came to Trenton from Harlem a year ago last February to try to help her brother, Collis English, and the other men.

A Negro lawyer, 65-year-old Robert Queen, who has practised in Trenton and been chairman of the NAACP's Legal Redress Committee there for years, was appointed to the Trenton Six defense. But long after the conviction Queen recoiled from a suggestion that he send information on the trial to the national NAACP. "Oh, no," he said, "I couldn't do anything like that. The white lawyers in this with me wouldn't like it."

SHE STUCK. Peyton Ma[illegible]ning, well-to-do Negro tav[illegible] keeper and Democratic "lea[illegible]er" called in by police t[illegible] "observe" five of the six me[illegible] sign confessions, told Be[illegible] Mitchell: "If I were you, girl[illegible], I'd go back to New York. You're going to get yourself in trouble if you stay around here asking questions."

Bessie Mitchell did not go back to New York. She and the colored people of Trenton have learned where influential individuals will not exert themselves to free innocent men, numbers of uninfluential aroused people will.

Despite an almost total blackout in U.S. newspapers, Americans all over the east are getting Mrs. Mitchell's clear, unhysterical account of the arrests and trial. Trenton for the first time is feeling the power of public pressure.